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ABSTRACT

A conference of African scholars was held in the United States in 1979 to develop a consensus and a statement about the direction that African language teaching and learning should take in this decade. African languages are among the so-called "less-commonly taught languages," and funding for their teaching and study has come from federal legislation. There are a number of reasons for studying Africa: humanistic reasons, economic reasons of developing trade, and political reasons of developing positive and productive foreign policy. The language situation in Africa is fundamentally different from many other areas in the world, in that each nation has many languages, none of which dominates. A classification of African languages is given here. To determine which African languages should be taught, criteria have been developed, including the number of speakers of the language, its political, cultural, and social implications, and its implications for U. S. speakers. There is also a need for guidelines for materials development, for basic linguistic and language research, and an adequate funding to insure quality teaching and material and needed research. (Author/PJM)

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AFRICAN LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES: DIRECTIONS AND PRIORITIES FOR THE 1980s

by David Wiley and David Dwyer, Compilers

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A statement of needs and priorities in African language instruction in the United States resulting from a conference of African language and area studies specialists.

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Introduction

In 1977-79 several agencies initiated studies of foreign language instruction in the United States, including the "less commonly taught languages," the category to which all African languages are assigned.

African area and language specialists are convinced that the African continent has not been assigned sufficient importance in the planning of United States foreign policy. Similarly, African language instruction is not sufficiently supported in spite of vital energy and mineral interests, the historic ties of Afro-Americans, and the increasing importance of African government policies for United States global commercial and political interests. The allocation of only 10-11 percent of the NDEA Title VI Language and Area Studies Program funds to Africa reflects that historic neglect, especially because the continent has more nations and many more languages than any other world area.

Discussions in 1978

Because we recognized that the neglect of African language materials was hindering our African language programs, various center directors and language program coordinators met for one day of discussions at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting in Baltimore, Maryland on November 1, 1978. A draft paper was developed from our discussions entitled "African Language Study: Needs and Priorities;" however, more time and preparation for a serious meeting was required to develop a consensus on these issues among the Africanists in area studies and linguistics. To that end, the University of Wisconsin-Madison African Studies Program undertook a study of the costs of African language instruction (see Appendix B) and Michigan State University's African Studies Program agreed to organize and host a working conference on African language instruction and to prepare preconference working documents for the study of the conferees.

African Language Conference in 1979

With particular cognizance of the problem constituted by the large number of African languages, many of which are spoken by relatively small populations, 22 African specialists met at a conference at the Michigan State University African Studies Center in March 1979. The aim of the conference was to develop a common understanding of the problems of African language instruction and to establish a common set of priorities and directions for the 1980s. It was attended by 18 linguists and four area specialists, including five of the directors of the nine NDEA Title VI African language and area studies centers.

The conferees prepared for the conference by reading studies and assessments of African languages, primarily those organized under the sponsorship of the Modern Language Association and the Center for Applied Linguistics. The faculty of the African Language Program at Michigan State met to prepare a number of draft materials for consideration by the conferees. Lively discussion ensued at the conference, and surprisingly wide areas of agreement emerged. For instance, the criteria for assessing the importance of various African languages attracted a consensus, and resulted in a four-tier priority classification, even though there were differences of opinion about the location and importance of a few particular languages.

After the conference, various scholars agreed to draft sections of this ensuing document. Descriptions of various languages and language clusters were drafted by Professor David Dwyer, the primary organizer of the conference materials, with the assistance of Professors Carol Myers Scotton, Grover Hudson, John Eulenberg, and John Johnson. The final document was assembled and edited by Professor Dwyer and myself, who take responsibility for any errors or misrepresentations of the consensus achieved at the meeting.

Conference Consensus on African Languages

The major findings of the conferees, on which there was broad agreement, were the following:

- The African language area is problematic because of the number of languages (estimated at 700 to 1,000), the distribution, and the complexity of the languages (as great as the Asian and East European languages in addition to their tonality and noun class systems).

- African language materials are woefully lacking. Intermediate level texts are available in only a few of the major languages unlike any other world area. The small amount of financial support and grants available to develop new texts will not significantly remedy the problem in the foreseeable future.

- The historic failure to develop instructional materials for African languages reflects the general neglect of Africa by the United States in the 1950s and 1960s and not the newly understood strategic importance of Africa for the 1980s.

- The cost of African language instruction is very high – estimated at $270 per student credit hour as compared with about $60 per credit hour for romance languages.

- An exclusive concentration on the most common European or African linguae francae (e.g. Swahili, Arabic, Hausa, English, Portuguese, French, Spanish) will not service the needs of the Africanist researcher and other language users in most of Africa, for whom other important national and regional languages are required; however, at the conference a prioritization system was developed to delimit the number of languages which are required to meet user needs in a wide variety of nations.

- Many user needs must be accommodated through individualized instruction and, for the most uncommon languages, with self-instruction; however these cost-effective techniques require more, higher quality, and linguistically effective texts, dictionaries, reference grammars and cultural learning materials, items which currently are lacking for most languages.

- Therefore, the most urgent need for African studies in the United States is for support to conduct basic linguistic research on African languages and to produce the needed instructional materials, giving especial attention to new research on language learning and teaching.

- For the continuing African language instruction programs, the highest priorities are for fellowships for language area studies, for research funds and stipends for African linguists to update their knowledge and conduct original field research on the languages, and, only then, for summer support and learning programs.

The MLA Reports on Less Commonly Taught Languages

The conference concurred with a number of the recommendations of the two recent reports concerning African languages: a) *Report of the Task Force on the Less Commonly Taught Languages, Language Study for the 1980's*, and b) Professor Leon I. Twarog's *A National Ten-Year Plan for Teaching and Training in the Less Commonly Taught Languages*, both of which are printed in Richard I. Brod, ed., *Language Study for the 1980 s*, NY: Modern Language Association, 19[illegible]. For instance of urgent importance for African language instruction is a large-scale program of materials development to support classroom instruction in the 23 Group A languages (see below), and individualized instruction in 30 high priority Group B languages, and 31 other slightly lower priority Group C languages. The result of this development of criteria and a first attempt to list the categories of languages suggest that probably 95 percent of the needs for African language instruction can be met with the prompt development of materials in approximately 84 key African languages rather than for the 1,000 different languages of the continent, whose large number suggests the African language instruction problem is unmanageable.

Because African languages are so diverse, complex, and neglected, these conferees targeted materials devel-

opment as the most crucial priority, followed by fellowships for students, and funding for faculty enrichment, development, and field study. Summer intensive language institutes, study abroad, and instructional coordination were ranked much lower than in the MLA reports, not because they are unimportant but because the pressing need for both beginning and intermediate level African materials is so dire.

The Africanist conferees also *did not concur* with the MLA conclusions that the three widest-used African languages - Arabic, Swahili, and Hausa - can be ranked as being more important than another 20 high priority national and trade languages of the continent. Even though there are larger numbers of speakers of each of these three regional linguae fancae and although Arabic, Hausa, and Swahili provide access to a larger area of Africa than other languages, knowledge of them will not permit any communication with more than half of the rest of the continent. Knowledge of one of the 23 additional high priority languages however will provide access to significant portions of African nations.

In face of the low enrollments in most African language courses during the academic year, the need for fellowships to guarantee enrollments for individual-instruction languages, the need to provide academic year employment for African language faculty, and the resultant exorbitantly high unit costs of instruction in African languages, the Africanist conferees did not place a high priority on summer institutes, preferring to see the funding invested in materials, development, and fellowships. This high unit cost of African language instruction to universities is addressed in a study by Professors Fred M. Hayward and Paul A. Beckett at the University of Wisconsin-Madison African Studies Program on behalf of the various African studies centers in a paper entitled "The Cost of Teaching African Languages: Major Problems and their National Implications," included as Appendix B of this report.

Because the conferees believed very strongly that African language materials development should receive priority funding to compensate for the past years of neglect, they could not concur with the Twarog Report's proposal for large sums of funding for summer study without specifying that materials development goals are of supervening importance for African languages. The conferees also rejected the principle that much larger funding should go to particular world areas outside of Africa. For instance, per 1,000 speakers of the less commonly taught languages in order of the world areas, the Twarog Report recommends expenditures for summer and study abroad programs of $74 in the Middle East, $22 in Eastern Europe, $8 in Latin America, $5 in Africa and $4 in Asia.

The conferees did concur with the MLA authors that a major conference and assessment program and support to cooperate with European and African language centers are needed to allow the African language community in the United States to develop a comprehensive plan for the language needs of Africanist research scholars and the development of a national pool of excellent Africanist instructional materials and competent linguists.

This document is a step toward a more rationalized approach to African language instruction and a prioritization of tasks to that end. We welcome and seek critical comments and suggestions for a revision of this document.

The conference was made possible by funding provided by the U.S. Office of Education under the African Language and Area Studies grant to the MSU African Studies Center and by travel allotted by the African centers of the participating universities. We give especial thanks for their drafting of sections of this report and language descriptions to all the members of the conference; to Professors Greenberg, Hudson, and Scotton for their comments on the draft report; and to Ms. Kay Irish, Sandi McCann, Wanda Tarver, and Jean Toomey for the final production of the report.

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African Language Instruction in the United States: Directions and Priorities for the 1980s

On March 10-11, 1979, linguistic and area studies specialists representing all the African studies centers in the United States funded by the United States Office of Education as well as representatives from a number of other institutions where African languages are taught came together for a two-day conference to develop a consensus and a statement about the directions that African language teaching and learning should take in the next decade.

This report represents a statement generally agreed upon by all the faculty participants listed below, who represent the African language teaching community.

Professor	Institution
Patrick Bennett	University of Wisconsin-Madison
Eyamba Bokamba	University of Illinois
Abraham Demoz, Director	Northwestern University
Haig Der-Houssikian	University of Florida
Ivan R. Dihoff	Boston University
David Dwyer	Michigan State University
Baruch Elimelech	University of California-Los Angeles
John Eulenberg	Michigan State University
John R. Harris, Director	Boston University
Fred Hayward, Director (1979)	University of Wisconsin-Madison
Robert Herbert	Michigan State University
Carleton T. Hodge	Indiana University
John Johnson	Michigan State University
William R. Leben	Stanford University
J. Joseph Pia	Syracuse University
David Reed	Northwestern University
Russell Schuh	University of California-Los Angeles
Carol Myers Scotton	Michigan State University
Neil Skinner, Director	University of Wisconsin-Madison
Herbert Stahlke	Georgia State University
David Wiley, Director	Michigan State University

I. The Need to Study Africa

In the last twenty years, since most of Africa has gained political autonomy, and especially in the last ten years, when Africa's combined gross national product rose about 50 billion dollars, Africa has become a continent of considerable importance. We have seen tremendous growth in tourism, cultural exchange and trade in strategic materials, including petroleum. We have seen African nations take on an important role in world affairs, and we are beginning to realize along with the rest of the world that it is now necessary to understand Africa on its own terms.

It is crucial that we understand Africa for several important reasons: (1) for the humanistic reasons of understanding and communicating with our fellow man and for the promotion of peace, (2) for the economic reasons of developing trade, and (3) for the political reasons of developing intelligent foreign policy that is positive and productive rather than negative or irrelevant. In a world that is rapidly shrinking and in which Africa is assuming a greater importance, we need greater understanding of and communication with Africa.

We are not alone in our need to understand Africa. All the major powers, as well as those with significant economic interactions with Africa, recognize this important point. Part of the Helsinki Accords involves a promise by all parties, including the United States, to "encourage the teaching of African languages."

We cannot ignore the humanistic value that the study of African languages provides us. We no longer see the history of the world and the evolution of human thought within the confines of the Western European tradition. We are now aware of Africa's rich variety of cultural and literary traditions, both oral and written, including such diverse and rich forms as Yoruba folk opera, Hausa and Bambara epics, and Somali poetry.

Thus, for a variety of reasons, including trade, foreign policy, treaty commitments, and the general humanistic concerns for peace and understanding, there is an important need for understanding Africa. Yet Africa is a very complex continent with more than 400 million people speaking 700-1,000 languages* and living in more than fifty independent nations. Conditions within each of these nations are as complex as in any nations. Conditions within each of these nations are as complex as in any nation in the world. For example, at the time of this writing there is armed conflict in Ethiopia, Angola, Uganda, South Africa, and Namibia. Thus, to understand Africa is not easy, because of its tremendous complexity and diversity and its peculiar linguistic situation.

II. The Unique Nature and Distribution of African Languages

The language situation in Africa is fundamentally different from that in many other areas of the world, such as Europe, Southeast Asia, or the Near East. While there are African nations such as Somalia, Burundi, and Rwanda that conform to the typical worldwide pattern of one numerically dominant language per nation serving as the official language of that country, we generally find in Africa a different pattern with many national variations.

The typical African pattern is one of numerous languages per nation, with no one language clearly dominant either in numbers of speakers or in the sociopolitical power of its speakers. In Uganda, for example, the language with the largest number of first-language speakers (Luganda) is the first language for only 16 percent of the total population. In addition to Luganda, close to 40 other languages are spoken in Uganda, one-third of them from groups not even considered to be genetically related to Luganda.

Often within a given African nation, there may be several major ethnic or regional groups which could make a strong case for national recognition of their languages. In Nigeria, for example, three groups, the Yoruba, the Igbo, and the Hausa each claim 10 million speakers or more. But also in almost every African nation there usually are numerous minority language groups with speakers numbering less than a million and sometimes only in the thousands. Nigeria has perhaps 200 such languages. All the languages in Liberia have fewer than a million speakers; with the largest number of speakers, Kpelle is spoken by only 350,000. In other nations, such as Zambia, where approximately thirty languages are spoken, there are at least seven which should be included in any grouping of high priority languages with numerous speakers and extent of geographical coverage. Thus, the general linguistic situation in Africa is *fundamentally different from that of much of the rest of the world.*

While in some areas languages are closely related, they remain sufficiently distinct as measured by not being mutually intelligible to be considered as separate languages, and not merely dialects of one language. The result is that there are 700-1,000 different languages in Africa.

According to the generally accepted classification, African languages fall into four major independent language stocks. Within any one of these stocks, the degree of difference between two languages is as great as

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*This statement reflects the fact that there are 700-1,000 linguistic varieties which are not mutually intelligible. Similar to other languages, many African languages exhibit a further variety of regional and social dialects.

the degree of difference between English and Russian, which are of course related, both being of the Indo-European group. Across stocks, differences are as great as or greater than those between English and Chinese or English and Turkish. Many African countries include languages from at least two of the major stocks; almost all include languages from distinctly related subgroups. Throughout the southern third of Africa, however, the large group of Bantu languages (approximately 300 languages) do not differ so much from each other, especially when in geographic proximity; yet they are not mutually intelligible. There is, however, a certain transfer of vocabulary and knowledge of structure if a student begins to study one Bantu language after previously studying another.

Because of the nature of the linguistic situation in most African countires, where no single clearly dominant indigenous language exists, these countries have retained the colonial language (English, French, or Portuguese) as the official language. However, knowledge of these languages is confined everywhere to a relatively small elite; further, virtually no Africans speak these languages as their first languages. Although accurate statistics on language knowledge and use in Africa are generally nonexistent, the most optimistic, informed estimate is that no more than 10 percent of the citizens in the former French colonies in Africa can speak French. Anglophone Africa is somewhat better studied and a summary of existing studies would show that only between 20 and 30 percent of people in these countries speak any English at all, with percentages higher in a few urban areas and much lower in most rural areas.

Hence, to communicate with most Africans, the researcher needs to learn the local indigenous language of the area he or she will study.

African languages in general present considerable and special difficulties for the English speaking student. They share almost no indigenous vocabulary with English and exhibit many structural (phonological and grammatical) differences. For example, the majority of African languages are tonal; this means that in many languages the difference between two vocabulary items or different tenses are distinguished only by differences in tone or pitch. Many languages, especially those in the Bantu group, have noun classification systems analogous in their structure to the gender systems of some European languages; but usually the classification system involves more distinctions and is much more far-reaching in grammatical relations than is the European language gender system.

This situation gives the professional linguist a peculiar strategic importance in African language studies. Only he or she has the equipment to analyze the grammar and develop pedagogical materials for languages that rarely have been studied scientifically, as have, for example, French, Japanese, or Russian. Moreover, the number of such specialists is relatively small compared to specialists in other major world languages.

Given the breadth and variety of the demands which the study of even the major African languages presents, professional linguists have, through necessity, exhibited a degree of flexibility and capacity for hard work well beyond the requirements normally associated with the demands on language teachers. For example, many linguists who teach an African language must prepare their own teaching materials one step ahead of the class; teachers of even the most commonly studied African languages, such as Swahili, do not have even one second-year textbook available. For most languages, also, under these conditions of instructions, a native speaker of the language is required, since no linguist can be expected to master a number of languages and to reach the ideal of native competence for all of them as is assumed in the teaching of European languages.

III. Criteria for Determining Priorities

Given the nature of the African geolinguistic and sociolinguistic situation, the decisions concerning which African languages need to be taught certainly are much more complex than they are for most other parts of the world. In order to cope with this situation, we have developed a set of criteria designed to rank the languages into one of four groups, which are designed to suggest the relative significance of these languages insofar as language teaching and materials development are concerned.

The conferees agreed that no single criterion can be used to create a priority ordering of African languages in terms of importance for study in the universities. The major criteria agreed upon are the following:

1. ***Number of speakers:*** this would include both the number of people who speak the language as their first language and those who speak it as an additional language.
2. ***Political, cultural, and social importance:*** this includes such factors as whether the language is recognized as the official language of any country; whether it extends across national boundaries; how widely it is used as a lingua franca; whether it is a language used in educational systems; the extent to which a recognized literature, oral or written, exists; whether it is an important language in mass media (newspapers, television, and especially radio); whether speakers and/or national governments are actively working in the promotion of its use and literacy in the language.
3. ***Importance for U.S. national interests:*** this includes factors such as economic ties of the U.S. with the nation(s) where the language is spoken, political relations with the nation(s), strategic location of the nation(s) and/or language, and cultural and technological exchange programs.

The languages that rank high by criteria 2 and 3 will typically also have large numbers of speakers, and likewise languages with large numbers of speakers typically will rank high by the factors in 2 and 3. The correlation does not hold universally, however, particularly in cases where African languages have been chosen as official languages of countries. For example, Somali has between 4 and 5 million speakers, yet the fact that Somalia has adopted Somali as the official language and the fact that Somalia has a very active and effective program of development of Somali at all levels of national life locate it in the same high priority category with Hausa or Swahili, which have many more speakers. The fact that Fula is spoken across the entire extent of the West African savanna, in some places as a lingua franca, makes it rank high even though it is not the official language of any country and does not have as many speakers as some other languages.

While all the criteria must be weighed against each other in establishing priorities, those in 3 are particularly subject to change for any given language because of shifting political and economic trends. For example, because of political changes in Ethiopia, Oromo has acquired increased importance. Consequently, a periodic review is called for to see whether priorities have shifted for particular languages.

Because different criteria have varying significance for each language, it is impossible to rank the languages of Africa in any fixed list according to priority for study. Accordingly, they have been listed here in groups, Group A being those languages with large numbers of speakers and meeting at least some of the criteria in 2 and 3. In 1976-77 the category A languages accounted for 93 percent of the enrollments in African language courses at the major African language programs. Group B includes the remaining languages which have more than 1 million speakers. Because accurate demographic data are often difficult to obtain, the list of Group B languages should not be considered to be closed at this time. Should other languages be shown to meet the criteria for Group B, then they too should be added to the list. Group C includes languages with fewer than 1 million speakers that are felt to be of special local importance or to be key languages for primary research. The list of Group C languages also remains open so that, given sufficient evidence, other languages may be added to the list. Group D includes the remaining languages of Africa.

The resulting classification of all African languages into the four categories of priority is presented on the following two pages. In Appendix A to this report, the status of each of the languages in categories A and B is described and annotated in further detail.

Group A Languages (Highest Priority)

1. Akan (Twi/Asante/Akuapem/Fante)
2. Amharic
3. Arabic
4. Chewa/Nyanja
5. Fula (Fulfulde/Peulh)
6. Hausa
7. Igbo
8. Kongo
9. Malagasy
10. Mandingo (Bambara/Mandinka/Dyula)
11. Ngala (Lingala)
12. Oromo (Galla)
13. Ruanda/Rundi (Kirwanda/Kirundi)
14. Sango
15. Shona
16. Somali
17. Sotho/Tswana (Ndebele)
18. Swahili
19. Tigrinyna
20. Umbundu
21. Wolof
22. Xhosa/Zulu/Swazi
23. Yoruba

Group B Languages (Second Priority)

1. Anyi/Baule
2. Bamileke
3. Bemba
4. Berber (Tamazight/Tamacheq/Kabylle)
5. Chokwe/Lunda
6. Efik/Ibibio
7. Ewe/Mina/Fon
8. Ganda (Luganda)
9. Gbaya
10. Kalenjin (Nandi/Kipsigis)
11. Kamba (Kikamba)
12. Kanuri
13. Kikuyu
14. Krio/Pidgin (Cluster)
15. Luba (Chiluba)
16. Luhya
17. Luo (Acholi/Lango)
18. Makua (includes Lomwe)
19. Mbundu (Kimbundu)
20. Mende/Bandi/Loko
21. Mongo/Nkundo
22. More/Mossi
23. Nubian
24. Senufo
25. Songhai
26. Sukuma/Nyamwezi
27. Tiv
28. Tsonga (Shitsonga/Ronga or Shironga/Tswa or Shitswa)
29. Yao/Makonde (Bulu)
30. Zande (Azande)

Note: There is considerable variability in the English form, spelling, and usage of the names of many of these languages. The alternatives listed here are representative but not exhaustive.

Group C Languages (Third Priority)

1. Dinka (Agar/Bor/Padang)
2. Edo (Bini)
3. Gogo (Chigogo)
4. Gurage
5. Hehe
6. Idoma
7. Igbira
8. Ijo
9. Kpelle
10. Kru/Bassa
11. Lozi (Silozi)
12. Maasai
13. Mauritian Creole
14. Meru
15. Nama (Damara)
16. Nuer
17. Nupe
18. Nyakusa
19. Nyoro
20. Sara
21. Serere/Sine (Serer)
22. Sidamo
23. Soninke
24. Suppire
25. Susu
26. Temne
27. Tumbuka (Chitumbuka)
28. Turkana/Teso
29. Venda

Group D Languages (Fourth Priority) – All Other Languages*

IV. Guidelines for Language Materials Development

There is a definite need to assess critically the instructional materials available for the teaching of African languages from the perspectives of availability, completeness, and pedagogical design.

While the above priority categories constitute a proposed general policy statement for the teaching of African languages, it also constitutes a statement of the high relative priority given to materials development. But such a statement in itself is insufficient as a policy for materials development. In addition the following statement of guidelines concerning the quality and type of materials required for the teaching and learning of these languages is needed.

The following are suggested priorities for instructional materials development with specified standards of quality and chronology:

A. Pedagogic materials should be based on adequate knowledge of the language in question and its social context. In broad terms these are basic, intermediate, and advanced materials designed to provide, as relevant, oral/aural, reading, and/or writing abilities

1. If "social context" is to be covered adequately, sociolinguistic studies and compendiums of culturally organized language related data should be collected and prepared.

2. The basic materials are to provide training to an intermediate level (Level Two). They should include all common grammatical constructions and vocabulary adequate to enable students to converse fluently in relevant social and professional situations.

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*Note: The conference declined to include Afrikaans, English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish in this priority listing, even though a number of speakers in Africa utilize these languages of European origins. Likewise, Ge'ez, an archaic literary language of Ethiopia, was also ommitted from discussion.

3. The intermediate materials are to follow basic ones, broadening the students' control of both grammar and vocabulary. These should provide materials illustrative of representative aspects of the culture.

4. In general, the text matter (dialogues, narratives, descriptions) at both the basic and intermediate levels would be written specifically for courses at these levels. The advanced materials could include texts from available literature.

B. Adequate Target-English and English-Target dictionaries are urgently needed.

C. Reference grammars designed for student use should supplement basic texts.

D. To assure efficient use of funds in upgrading pedagogical materials a thorough language by language evaluation of the existing materials utilizing the two sets of priorities given above is required. This is a significant task and will require the efforts of a number of scholars who not only have a knowledge of the language but also have had experience in teaching that language; therefore, we strongly support the recommendation of the MLA Task Force that various funding organizations, National Endowment for the Humanities, the U.S. Department of Education, and private foundations, should sponsor either separately or collectively conferences and workshops designed to deal with this topic in much greater detail.

E. After a specific priority listing of African language materials has been established through a consultation, it will be necessary to establish a set of guidelines for assessing the appropriateness of specific proposals to develop instructional materials. Such a listing of guidelines must be developed in coordination with the materials priority listing at a future date as suggested above; however, the following criteria contain the essence of such a listing.

1. The material for which funding is proposed should be designed as portions of an integrated and coherent sequence of language materials.

2. The proposal should be demonstrably feasible from the point of view of access to sources and ability of the investigator(s) to complete within schedule and within proposed cost.

3. The proposal should be designed to meet the needs of a defined set of users.

4. The materials should reflect sound pedagogy, an effective order of presentation with specifically stated goals for each instructional unit.

V. The Importance of Research Concerning Basic Linguistics and Language Learning

A. Basic Research

Basic linguistic research forms the essential foundation for the construction of sound pedagogical materials. If we are to develop good materials, it is essential that the grammatical information on which a textbook is based be subjected to the scrutiny of scholars in the field before a textbook is constructed. This means, then, the funding not only of basic research but also of publications and libraries so that we not only produce the information but distribute and preserve it as well.

Because of the great variety and special nature of the distribution of African languages outlined above, it is difficult to provide at any one institution a fixed curricular offering of African languages. Due to shifting priorities in language interest, demands for all but the most popular languages change from year to year. These shifts are detrimental to reasonable academic planning but represent real and important needs of learners. In order to respond to this situation, we should train linguists to accept and teach new languages in a flexible way. As learner needs arise, we should provide language programs which can respond to these needs by constructing new courses. By necessity, these people will have had much of their training in general linguistics.

B. Language Learning Research

In general, we encourage and support basic research in the area of second-language teaching and learning.

There are a number of areas that need to be examined in some detail. Specifically, we urge the funding of research designed to delve more deeply into the question of what constitutes language proficiency and the relationship between proficiency and achievement. We also urge that support be given to those seeking to incorporate low-cost computers into the language curriculum and into specialized research in the fields of African language teaching and learning.

While we encourage this general research, there already exists a general body of knowledge about the teaching and learning of second languages of which Africanist linguists and language teachers in this country are generally unaware. Africanist linguists and language teachers need to become acquainted with language acquisition materials and methodology. We therefore recommend that funds be made available for African language teachers to attend language learning/teaching conferences and workshops at which special consideration is given to African languages. We also recommend that funds be made available to encourage research in these areas.

VI. Priorities Among Language Development and Instructional Opportunities

The members of this conference were unanimous in their opinion that the current level of funding was far below what was needed to provide instruction in African languages. Additional funding is needed to provide:

1. A richer variety of offerings
2. Better trained language teachers
3. Basic linguistic research
4. The development of higher quality and more complete language materials
5. Increased student support, particularly in the area of study abroad.

Specifically we recommend that the amount of money currently allocated to the teaching of African languages, roughly 1.8 million dollars, be doubled and allocated to the following areas:

1. Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships **(FLAS's) (40%)**

Since FLAS fellowships represent the principal group of African language learners, we see this as an area of primary need for increased funding. We we recommend that 40 percent of the additional funding be allocated to increasing the number of FLAS and to reinstating the fourth year of support with overseas study and research.

2. Language Teaching Staff (20%)

In order to provide the quality and variety of language teaching and African language research, we need not only to maintain our current African language teaching faculty but to increase it. We recommend that 18 percent of increased expenditures be devoted to research and training for language teachers and linguists. Basic research in this area is a prerequisite to the production of adequate teaching materials, of which we are so short.

3. Language Research and Materials Development (18%)

Quality instruction depends on quality materials. Consequently there must be a continuing effort to develop our knowledge of African languages and our African language teaching resources. We recommend that 18 percent of increased expenditures be devoted to research and materials development.

4. Summer Programs and Study Abroad (20%)

In addition to the language programs that are offered during the academic year, additional funds should be made available to support summer programs, particularly for those who cannot take advantage of the extant language programs during the academic year or for those who wish intensive courses in prepara-

tion for the field and for study abroad. We recommend that 10 percent of any increased expenditures be allocated each summer to programs and study abroad.

5. *Coordination (2%)*

The concept of coordination is to bring together experts in the field of African languages in order (1) to develop and refine our views about various aspects of African language teaching and learning and (2) to increase among these experts the consensus on how to optimize our efforts in this area. The conference which has resulted in this report is an example of such coordination. Other conferences and workshops that have been proposed are as follows: A material needs update; a materials development conference; workshops on language teaching methodology for teachers of African languages; and planning seminars aimed at optimal use of summer programs, study abroad, and so forth. Therefore, for coordination we recommend that two percent of any new allocations or $60,000 per year be designated.

Funding Priorities

Support for African language and area training programs is primarily a federal responsibility which grows directly from the federal government's constitutional mandate to conduct the nation's foreign policy and the special federal interest in matters of international trade and commerce, strategic and military affairs, and global issues of food, energy, population, and conflict management. This tradition of federal support grows even more from the wellsprings of our humanistic interest as a nation to understand the cultures and histories of foreign societies. This commitment to understand other societies is consistent with our national ideals of enlightened awareness of global multicultural diversity *and* of avoiding blunders in inter-nation policy and action based on misunderstandings of other peoples' goals and meanings.

As a matter of sound educational practice, African language training programs should be located on university campuses which offer strong supportive programs in African area studies and which give promise of support for completed projects of field research in Africa. Language and area studies mutually interact with and reciprocally enrich one another, as the federal NDEA Title VI Program has recognized. It would be educationally wise to preserve this linkage in the training programs of graduate students and research scholars. The fragile nature of the major African language programs in the nation has resulted from the small number of fellowships for each language, which results in a very high unit cost per credit hour, and courses and programs which are especially subject to cutbacks and reductions in programs during periods of fiscal austerity such as we appear to be entering in the 1980s. Thus, increased funding for African language programs – both for faculty support, faculty research, and student fellowships for language and area training – is an urgent priority to strengthen these programs for the new demands of the decade.

Federal language programs also must be founded on the premise that language learning cannot terminate at the third year. Rather, full mastery of a particular African language will require opportunity for the researcher in training to have access to many African languages instead of the presently truncated offerings. These offerings are limited by lack of adequate instructional materials for most languages. Because of the scarcity of materials and specialists, many students study languages they know are not central to their intended research. As a result, their learning motivation is low and the training frequently is not directly utilized in field research. The fuller level of mastery we seek in African languages after training in the United States requires a period of field study and research in the language area; therefore, we strongly urge the federal government to reappraise its policy which denies graduate students utilizing the NDEA Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships (FLAS) for field study and research. This more advanced refinement of African language facility will require more cultural learning materials and literature in the languages than most programs possess for the third and fourth year levels of training. Provision for the collection of tapes and transcripts of oral data for classroom use is another urgent need. Development of new instructional materials in African languages should also include the new technologies of language instruction, including tape-recording and playback devices as well as computerized methods.

VII. Conclusion

The 1970s have included a significant growth in the contact of Africa with the United States business, trade, diplomatic, tourist, scholarly, and cultural exchange communities. African states play an increasingly vital role in world affairs, and the United States has become increasingly dependent on the trade, energy, and policies of Africa. These realities suggest the importance of African language training for the United States in the decade ahead. If we are to communicate effectively and persuasively not just with government representatives from Africa who know our languages, we must know the major languages of each of Africa's 53 nations. We can speak to African peoples in *our* languages, but in so doing we shall not communicate effectively with them. This requires knowledge of *their* languages. The failure of many foreign policies of Western nations in Africa reflects the failure to have understood those peoples and nations.

At present, we have in the United States a basic core of teachers and elementary materials which is the foundation of significant instructional programs. These programs have been seeded with money from the Ford Foundation and the Title VI support of the U.S. Office of Education and more recently by the National Endowment for the Humanities; however, the existence of these core programs is a credit primarily to the dedication of a handful of individuals and universities which have borne the major burden of that effort. Twenty-eight African languages are taught in the nine Title VI centers each year, and another 37 languages are offered through individualized instruction or self-instructional programs. Nonetheless, our ability to cover the continent's languages adequately is limited by a number of factors: the large number of very divergent languages, the absence of introductory texts for *most* of these, the absence of intermediate and advanced level materials for the more common languages, the exorbitantly high unit cost of this instruction, the fact that low enrollments frequently require language faculty to offer special instruction meeting the student's needs only by personal sacrifice of personal time and research, the increasing financial pressure on universities to review low-enrollment programs for possible reductions or elimination, the lack of funding for continuing basic linguistic research in African languages, the lack of large scale market for new language materials given the low enrollment problem in non-funded programs and the reduction of library acquisition budgets, the failure because of the lack of staff time or instructional materials, to offer students or researchers the particular language appropriate to their research area, and the insufficient number of fellowships for student language learning and for field research in the language area.

In real terms, the support for African language training and area study from foundations and the federal government has decreased over the past five years. In some instances, universities have assumed the burden of lessened support, but in many cases the programs have been weakened or eliminated. Without substantial increases in funding for African language and area programs, the prospects are bleak for maintaining the present level of performance and are disastrous in terms of beginning to move toward an *adequate* coverage of African languages. The current levels of funding are relatively small - currently about $2 million for all African language and area training. A doubling of this total would provide necessary materials preparation grants, a doubling of fellowships, an annual summer institute, funds for travel and stipend for language informants to the United States, funds for conferences to reassess and revise the needs and instructional goals, support for basic linguistic and field research, and the addition of instructional faculty needed in the Centers for the increased coverage of the high priority languages.

The past twenty years witnessed the building of a solid foundation of programs and a significant increase in area and language specialists. Recent history in the 1970s has seen a reversal of that process and a dangerous erosion of that foundation. Substantial federal assistance is essential if the African language instructional programs are to become a national asset of excellence on par with that which has been the norm and for which resources have been provided in other world areas. The price is small indeed for the potential gains which may be achieved given the current foundation.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTIVE ANNOTATIONS OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES

GROUP A LANGUAGES

1. ***Akan*** (Twi/Asante/Akuapem/Fante)

The Akan cluster of languages dominates the southern part of Ghana both in terms of first language speakers and as linguae francae. Twi has over 3 million first language speakers and is spoken by more than another million speakers as a second language. Asante is spoken by more than a million people around Kumasi, capital city of the former Ashanti empire. Fante is an especially important lingua franca along the coast, where the European colonialists made special use of it in the missions. English remains the sole official language of Ghana, but official plans specify its eventual replacement by an indigenous language. The Akan cluster is in the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo branch of Niger-Kordofanian, as are most of the southern Ghanaian languages.

2. ***Amharic***

Amharic is the official language and lingua franca of Ethiopia, with at least 12 million speakers. It is a language of the Semitic family, Ethiopian-Semitic branch. Amharic employs the Ethiopic (Ge'ez) writing system, and has a rich literature dating back 700 years. It is the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church. There are several newspapers published in Ethiopia in Amharic, books of all sorts, and the language is used in regular radio and television broadcasts.

3. ***Arabic***

In spite of the prominent position of Arabic within the context of Semitic languages and its geographic spread over the area commonly referred to as the Middle East, a statistical survey would suggest an even more prominent presence in Africa. The usual exclusion of Arabic from African considerations has been a consequence of a largely arbitrary disassociation of North Africa from the rest of Africa. This disassociation can neither be supported in history nor in current circumstance. Indeed it exacerbates the difficulties of the scholarly integration of Ethiopian, Sudanic, Chadic, and Sahelian studies into African studies generally.

4. ***Chewa/Nyanja***

Chewa/Nyanja is the coofficial language of Malawi (along with English) and is also widely spoken in eastern Zambia. As such, it has more than 2 million speakers, half of whom speak it as a second language. Except in northern Malawi, it is the main lingua franca of Malawi for everyday contacts (English is more used in official contacts and is the language of the National Assembly). Chewa/Nyanja, a Bantu language, is closely related to other languages in the area, all of which are also Bantu languages.

5. ***Fula*** (Fulfulde, Peulh)

Fula is spoken in West Africa by groups in eight countries ranging from Gambia to Cameroon, some 10 million in all. Originally cattleowners, some Fula speakers have now settled and till the land, while an important minority constitute the learned, ruling elite in several places. The language is used as a second language, notably in Cameroon. It has a printed literature, is used for education in some areas, and broadcasts over a number of radio stations.

6. ***Hausa***

Hausa is spoken throughout northern Nigeria and Niger and in sizeable enclaves across West Africa. With a conservative estimate of 20 million speakers, Hausa has more first language speakers than any other language in

sub-Saharan Africa, and it is rapidly expanding as a second language for large numbers of people. In northern Nigeria, Hausa is the language of instruction throughout primary school, and there are university-level programs in Hausa language and literature. There is a Hausa newspaper that appears twice weekly; many products marketed in northern Nigeria are advertised in Hausa and have instructions printed in Hausa, and other African and international broadcasts have Hausa programs.

7. ***Igbo***

Igbo is a dialect cluster spoken by about seven million people in south-central Nigeria. The dialect area crosses the Niger River extending from just east of Benin almost to the border of Calabar State. Igbo is listed in the Nigerian constitution as a national language, and it is used widely as a medium of instruction in primary school.

8. ***Kongo***

Kongo is a Bantu language spoken by an estimated 5.5 million people in Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, and Zaire. It is one of the four national languages used in radio, TV, primary education, and local administration in Zaire. Kongo is one of the dominant languages of Congo-Brazzaville (Lingala being the other); it has a rich cultural history that goes back to the Kingdom of the Kongo.

9. ***Malagasy***

Malagasy is spoken by over 8 million persons in Madagascar, where it serves as the official language. It is of the Hesperonesian family, West Indonesian branch, and contains many loan words from the Bantu languages, Swahili, Arabic, English, and French.

10. ***Mandingo*** (Bambara/Mandinka/Dyula)

Mandingo is one of the most widespread languages in West Africa, spoken as a first or second language in The Gambia, Mali, Guinea-Conakry, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, and Upper Volta by roughly seven million. Speakers of this language have had an important influence on American society, being, for example, the source of many words in American Black English. It is widely used as a trade language and is one of the national languages of the Republic of Mali.

11. ***Ngala*** (Lingala)

Lingala is a Bantu language spoken by an estimated 8.5 million people in Zaire, Congo-Brazzaville and Central African Republic. It is not only the official language of the Zairean Armed Forces and the dominant language of the popular Zairean and Congolese music but also the most rapidly expanding language in Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville. Lingala is one of the four national Zairean languages (the others being Kikongo, Kiswahili, and Caluba) used in radio and TV broadcasting, primary education, and local administration.

12. ***Oromo*** (Galla)

Oromo is spoken by more than 5 million people throughout Ethiopia and is also spoken in northern Kenya. It is of the Cushitic family, Eastern Cushitic branch, and recently has been utilized in regular radio braodcasts and newspapers in Ethiopia. Oromo writing employs the Ethiopian Ge'ez writing system.

13. ***Ruanda/Rundi*** (Kirwanda and Kirundi)

Ruanda is the official language of Rwanda and has nearly 4 million speakers in Rwanda, an additional 2½ million speakers in Zaire, and another half million speakers in Uganda. Ruanda is also spoken in Burundi,

Uganda, Zaire and Tanzania. It has several dialects. Ruanda is in the Benue-Congo family, Ruanda-Rundi group.

14. ***Sango***

Sango is the major indigenous lingua franca in the Central African Republic. Although French is the official language of CAR, Sango is more widely known and widely used in various unofficial contacts. Between one million and a million and a half persons speak Sango. A creole, Sango is dervied from a language of the same name spoken on the banks of the Ubangi River. Both languages are members of the Ngbandi group and are in the Adamawa Eastern branch of the Niger-Congo subfamily of Niger-Kordofanian and are utilized in Zaire, Chad, and Cameroon as well.

15. ***Shona***

Shona is the dominant language in Zimbabwe and is the obvious prospective national language. It has a prominent presence in the central portion of Mozambique covering the geographic spread of the Mashona and related peoples. The socioeconomic significance of Zimbabwe within the context of Southern Africa and the comparatively developed status of Zimbabwean education at pre- and postsecondary levels with special reference to Shona adds significance to this language.

16. ***Somali***

Somali is the national language of the Somali Democratic Republic which is one of the few nearly monolingual nations of the continent of Africa. Somali is spoken by a considerable number of people living also in Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya. The total number of speakers has been estimated at 4.4 million. In 1972 Somalia adopted the Latin script for writing the language; it is used in official government business, public education, literature, and media and is now universal in Somalia. The new script now renders existing teaching materials obsolete.

17. ***Sotho/Tswana*** (Ndebele)

With about 5 million speakers in South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia, this language serves as an educational language in South Africa, and an official language of Lesotho. It is also used in newspapers and radio broadcasting.

18. ***Swahili***

Swahili has national or official status in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zaire. It is spoken in the immediate periphery of the core areas including northern Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Rwanda, Burundi, southern Somalia, and the Yemeni and Omani coasts. It is the most widely spoken of sub-Saharan African languages across the largest number of ethnic and national boundaries. Again within the context of sub-Saharan languages, Swahili commands the broadest radio/TV and press coverage both inside and outside Africa. Its importance (and usefulness) is such that the number and quality of existing instructional resources are very inadequate. It would be an error to neglect this language by designating it as low priority with a false analogy to Spanish in Latin America on grounds that it has attracted sufficient attention.

19. ***Tigrinya***

Tigrinya is spoken by 1.3 million persons in Ethiopia, primarly in Eritrea and Tigray Provinces. It is of the Semitic family, Ethiopian-Semitic branch. It was the former official language of Eritrea, where a Tigrinya newspaper and books are published. Tigrinya employs the Ethiopic (Ge'ez) writing system and has a traditional and modern written literature.

20. ***Umbundu***

Umbundu, the first language of the Ovimbundu of southern Angola, is the most widely spoken indigenous language in Angola. It is estimated to have 1.5 million first language speakers and at least half a million second language speakers. Umbundu should not be confused with Kimbundu, which is also a Bantu language and is also spoken in Angola, but somewhat to the north. Portuguese remains the official language of Angola; but Umbundu, as a Bantu language in a nation of all-Bantu speakers, is an important language of unofficial interethnic contacts.

21. ***Wolof***

Wolof is spoken by almost half of Senegal's five million persons; approximately 36 percent of the population speak it as a first language and an additional 45 percent speak it as a second language. It is the main African language of Senegal and is a predominantly urban language.

22. ***Xhosa/Zulu/Swazi***

Xhosa and Zulu are spoken by nearly 10 million people, or nearly 40 percent of the population of South Africa. Both Xhosa and Zulu are of the Nguni subgroup of the Bantu group of languages. Both are used as languages of primary and secondary education in South Africa, as well as in newspapers and radio braodcasts. Dialects also are spoken in Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

23. ***Yoruba***

Yoruba is one of the three official/national languages of Nigeria. There are approximately 20 million speakers. It is spoken in Nigeria and Benin. It is the language for primary and secondary schools, television, radio, and newspapers.

There is a substantial body of written literature in Yoruba, most of it written for native speakers. Some reference grammars, but not good ones, are written for non-native speakers. There are two dictionaries no longer in print. There is a tremendous need to improve the teaching materials for non-native speakers.

GROUP B LANGUAGES

1. ***Anyi/Baule***

Spoken in the Ivory Coast and neighboring portions of Ghana by almost a million people, Anyi and Baule are considered to be very closely related to each other and members of the Kwa subbranch of Niger-Congo.

2. ***Bamileke***

Bamileke is a cluster of closely related Bantoid languages which are spoken by almost two million speakers in Cameroon.

3. ***Bemba***

This Bantu language is spoken by ca. 1.2 million speakers, most of whom reside in Zambia but also in neighboring Zaire. Bemba is widely used as a lingua franca in towns and on the Copperbelt in Zambia.

4. ***Berber*** (Tamazight, Tamasheq, Kabylle)

Berber is actually a cluster of closely related languages spoken across North Africa and the Sahara Desert. Some of the main individual languages are Tamazight, Shilh, and Tarift spoken in Morocco; Kabylle in Algeria; and Tamasheq (Tuareg) in the desert portions of Algeria, Mali, Niger, and Libya. Altogether Berber speakers number over 2 million. Tamasheq has an indigenous writing system (called Tifinagh), which is widely used, especially for personal communications. Radio Niger has daily broadcasts in Tamasheq.

5. ***Chokwe/Lunda***

This Bantu cluster is spoken in Zaire, Zambia and Angola by almost a million speakers.

6. ***Efik/Ibibio***

Efik/Ibibio are mutually intelligible dialects of a language spoken widely in the southern part of Calabar state in Nigeria. Efik and Ibibio are used in broadcasting and early primary education. They are also used through much of the Cross River region. Efik and Ibibio are widely used as written languages.

7. ***Ewe/Mina/Fon***

Ewe/Mina/Fon are major dialects in a cluster that extends from southeastern Nigeria across southern Togo and Benin to southwestern Nigeria. Ewe is used in broadcasting and in lower primary education. It is also taught in the secondary schools under the auspices of the West African Examination Council. The various dialects of Ewe are spoken by about 2.2 million people.

8. ***Ganda*** (Luganda)

With its native speakers accounting for 16 percent of the population of Uganda, Luganda is the Ugandan language with the largest number of native speakers. Luganda is a Bantu language, and two-thirds of Ugandans speak relatively closely related Bantu languages. Luganda functions somewhat as a lingua franca in Uganda but in a distinct third place behind English, the official language, and Swahili, the national language. The number of users of Luganda is estimated at between 1.5 and 2 million speakers.

9. ***Gbaya***

Spoken by three-fourths of a million people primarily in the Central African Republic and in Cameroon and Nigeria, Gbaya belongs to the Adamawa-Eastern branch of Niger Congo.

10. ***Kalenjin*** (Nandi/Kipsigis)

Kalenjin is a Kenyan language spoken by 1.2 million speakers. It belongs to the Eastern Nilotic subgroup of the Eastern Sudanic branch of the Chari-Nile family.

11. ***Kamba*** (Kikamba)

Spoken by 1.5 million speakers in south-central Kenya, Kamba is a Bantu language closely related to Kikuyu.

12. ***Kanuri***

Kanuri (and Kanembu, which is closely related) is spoken by over 1 million people in 3 nations, Nigeria,

Niger and Chad in the area surrounding Lake Chad. It is the official language of Bornu State of Nigeria, where it is used in primary schools and also taught at the University of Bornu. It has a rich oral literature, referring especially to the time of the Kanem Empire, which flourished more than 200 years ago. Radio programs are broadcast over several stations.

13. ***Kikuyu***

Spoken by 2.8 million speakers of Kenya, Kikuyu is a Bantu language closely related to Kamba.

14. ***Krio/Pidgin Cluster***

This cluster consists of (1) Sierra Leone Krio (2) upcountry Krio (a pidgin) (3) Nigerian Pidgin English and Cameroonian Pidgin English. These languages which apparently originated from a common source are all mutually intelligible, and represent significant linguae francae in their respective countries. While a reliable estimate of the number of speakers is impossible at this time, the number most likely falls within the 3 to 6 million range.

15. ***Luba*** (Chiluba)

One of the official languages of Zaire, Luba is spoken by at least 4.6 million people (over one-fifth of the population of Zaire). This Bantu language is found in the southeastern part of Zaire in Shaba Province.

16. ***Luhya*** (Luyia)

Luhya is a Bantu language of 2 million speakers. It has several distinct dialects found mostly in Kenya, but also in Uganda in the Lake Victoria area.

17. ***Luo*** (Lango, Acholi)

Luo is a Western Nilotic language with approximately 1 million speakers living mainly in southwestern Kenya, on the offshore islands in Lake Victoria and in adjacent parts of Tanzania. As such, Luo is the non-Bantu language with the largest number of speakers in all of East Africa (Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda). Its speakers are one of four politically significant groups in Kenya. The cluster of Western Nilotic languages spoken in Uganda, including Acoli (Acholi), Lango, Alur, Lwo, Kumam and Adhola, is closely related to Luo; but there is little mutual intelligibility between Luo and this group. Languages spoken in western Zaire and northern Sudan also fall in the Western Nilotic branch of the Nilo-Saharan family.

18. ***Makua*** (includes Lomwe)

With almost a million speakers, this Bantu language is spoken in northcentral Mozambique and adjacent Tanzania.

19. ***Mbundu*** (Kimbundu)

This Angolan language, not to be confused with the closely related language of Ovimbundu, is a Bantu language spoken by 3.5 million speakers, and is widely used as a trade language.

20. ***Mende/Bandi/Loko***

This dialect cluster representing more than a million speakers is spoken in both Sierra Leone and Liberia. With one newspaper published in this language in Sierra Leone and frequent broadcasts from both countries, this Mande language of the Niger-Congo family is the dominant lingua franca of southern Sierra Leone.

21. ***Mongo/Nkundo***

This cluster represents some three million Bantu speakers in Zaire or about 17 percent of that nation's people.

22. ***More/Mossi***

With 3.4 million speakers, it is the dominant language of Upper Volta. It belongs to the Gur branch of Niger Congo.

23. ***Nubian***

Nubian (Kordofanian Nubian) consists of a set of closely related dialects spoken in the Sudan. It is classified as a Chari-Nile language.

24. ***Senufo***

Senufo belongs to the Voltaic subbranch of Niger-Congo language. It is spoken by more than 1 million speakers in Ghana, Mali, Upper Volta, and northern Ivory Coast.

25. ***Songhai***

A Nilo-Saharan language, Songhai is spoken by almost half a million people along the Niger River in Upper Volta, Mali, Niger, and Benin.

26. ***Sukuma/Nyamwezi***

Spoken by almost 2 million people, this Bantu language represents about 13 percent of the population of northwestern Tanzania.

27. ***Tiv***

The Tiv language is spoken by about 1.5 million people in the eastern part of the Nigerian middlebelt. Tiv is politically important, since there have regularly come from its population military and political leaders of national stature. The language is used in broadcasting, it has a significant indigenous literature, and it is used in early primary education. Tiv is widely used as a written language.

28. ***Tsonga*** (Shitsonga, Ronga or Shironga, Tswa or Shitswa)

This dialect cluster is spoken by over 3 million people in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa. In South Africa it is used on the radio, in newspapers and in education.

29. ***Yao/Makonde*** (Bulu)

This Bantu cluster is spoken by approximately one million persons in northern Mozambique and in adjacent areas of southern Tanzania and Malawi.

30. ***Zande*** (Azande)

Spoken in Zaire and also in adjacent border areas of the Central African Republic and the Sudan, this Adamawa-Eastern language (of Niger-Congo) is spoken by almost a million speakers.

Group C and Group D languages were not annotated for this document.

Note: It should be recorded that Professor Carleton T. Hodge wished to support the view that "all primary national languages should be in priority Group A, including Afrikaans," which was not included in the priority listing as noted on page 9 of this report.

APPENDIX B

THE COST OF TEACHING AFRICAN LANGUAGES: MAJOR PROBLEMS AND THEIR NATIONAL IMPLICATIONS*

by

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1. *The Effect to Develop African Language Teaching*

Major efforts have been made in the United States during the last 15 years to develop high quality programs for the teaching of African languages. In spite of impressive accomplishments, these efforts are encountering increasing difficulties which are largely a function of a variety of special problems which affect the teaching of African languages. Among them are the facts that:

- More than 1,000 distinct languages are spoken in Africa; only four of these (Arabic, Fula, Hausa and Swahili) serve as regional languages spoken by large numbers of people in several countries; most African countries have several major languages; many are spoken by millions of people.

- While English, French, Portuguese or Spanish are useful in much of Africa, there remains a vital need for language competencies in *many* African languages for effective business, diplomatic and scholarly activity in Africa.

- Instructional material for most African languages is very limited; in most cases it has been necessary to prepare basic texts and other teaching materials; major progress has been made in this, but much work remains to be done.

- There is a need to teach large numbers of languages if even a small part of the African continent is to be covered; many of the individual language courses will necessarily be small enrollment courses.

2. *The Problem of Cost*

All of these special problems contribute to another: the problem of the *high cost of teaching African languages*. As American universities increasingly find themselves in financial difficulties they are under pressure to eliminate high cost programs. The language programs have been defended from such pressures by noting the clear national need to teach these languages so that a variety of important interactions can be carried on in African countries. But it is very hard to convince the legislator from Black Earth, Wisconsin or Thermal, California that state taxpayers (or university trustees) should pay the major share of the cost for teaching African languages.

As this pressure increases, so does the pressure on University funding, to the point that we are now in danger of starting on a downward spiral that will take years to repair. For once universities begin to cut down on language instruction, they inevitably cut into the training of African specialists in politics, history, business, geography, agriculture and other areas. When this happens, universities often eliminate their African area programs (as has happened to at least one American university this year).

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*This study was undertaken in cooperation with and at the behest of the nine U.S. Office of Education African Language and Area Studies Centers.

Without substantial help, we may find that what is now but a handful of programs with broad African specialization will be even fewer in the next two or three years.

3. *Study of the Cost of Teaching African Languages*

In an attempt to give some idea of the scope of language teaching efforts in the United States and the cost of African language instruction, we have gathered information from the eight African language and area centers which currently receive support under the NDEA Title VI Language and Area Studies Centers Program administered by the Office of Education. These centers are at the following universities:

University of Florida	Northwestern University
University of Indiana	UCLA
University of Illinois	Stanford University
Michigan State University	University of Wisconsin-Madison

This material was gathered with the help of the directors of each of these centers, and prepared by the authors at the African Studies Center of the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

4. *The Scope of Language Teaching*

Our data indicate that an impressive number of languages are being taught at the African Studies Centers. Table 1 shows enrollments at eight of the centers during the 1976-77 year.

Table 1–ENROLLMENTS IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AT EIGHT AFRICAN STUDIES CENTERS

Afrikaans	4	Kikuyu	12
Akan/Twi	34	Krio	4
Amharic	26	Kru	3
Arabic	201	Mende	24
Bambara	33	Ngala (Lingala)	3
Bemba	2	Pidgin	1
Chewa/Nyanja	6	Shona	2
Efik	6	Sotho	14
Ewe	2	Swahili	362
Fula	1	Temne	4
Ga	1	Tswana	12
Hausa	83	Wolof	45
Igbo	2	Xhosa	1
Jaba	3	Yoruba	97

Note: Because there is considerable variation in the names of African languages, the names in this paper differ occasionally from those given in the priority listings in the body of the report.

In addition to these twenty-eight languages which were actually offered at eight of the centers, most of the centers have the capacity to teach a number of other languages, depending on demand. Additional capabilities during the 1976-77 year are shown in Table 2. It should be noted as well that a number of other

American universities, not possessing African Studies Centers funded under Title VI, also offer African languages courses.

Table 2–OTHER AFRICAN LANGUAGES THAT COULD HAVE BEEN OFFERED IN CASE OF DEMAND
1976-77

Acholi (Luo)	Ibibio (Efik)	Rwanda
Bade	Ijo	Shona
Baule (Anyi)	Kamba	Somali
Berber (Tamazight and Tamacheq	Kombe	Soninke
Chi-Mwi:ni (Chimwiini)	Kpelle	Sukuma
Dyula	Lango (Luo)	Susu
Dzamba	Luhya	Swazi
Edo	Luo	Teso
Etsako	Makonde (Yao)	Tigrinya
Ganda (Luganda)	Mauritian Creole	Vai-kono
Ge'ez	Ndebele (Sotho/Tswana)	Zulu
Gisiga	Ngizim	
	Oromo	

5. *Costs of Language Teaching Related to Enrollments*

Universities find that the most useful way to measure and compare costs of teaching programs is to relate factors of cost to student enrollments, using credit hours awarded to students as the basic unit of comparison. Table 3 summarizes the data on costs and enrollments at the eight African Studies Centers, and indicates that the cost of teaching African languages was *$269 per credit hour.*

Table 3–DATA ON COSTS RELATED TO ENROLLMENTS AT EIGHT UNIVERSITIES
(1976-77 academic year)

I. COSTS	
1. Salaries and fringe benefits	
a. Faculty	$ 659,263
b. Teaching assistants	79,920
c. Language informants	42,247
2. Laboratories and materials	
a. Language laboratories	62,943
b. Materials	16,362
3. Institutional support (52 % of wages and salaries, excluding fringe benefits)*	325,075
4. Total costs, one year	$1,185,810

(Continued)

Table 3–DATA ON COSTS RELATED TO ENROLLMENTS AT EIGHT UNIVERSITIES
(1976-77 academic year) [continued]

II. ENROLLMENTS	
1. Total enrollments, one year	1,066
2. Total credit hours, one year	4,407
III. COSTS RELATED TO ENROLLMENTS	
1. Cost per enrollment	1,112
2. Cost per credit hour	269

Notes on the costs and enrollments data are as follows:

Faculty salaries. These figures include only the portion of salaries of faculty members attributable to African language teaching.

Teaching assistants. These figures include only teaching assistant salaries for services in African language courses.

Language informants. Most of the centers make use of language informants in teaching. Most often these informants are African students resident on the campuses concerned who are first-language speakers of the language concerned.

Laboratories and materials. Our data almost certainly understate this cost, primarily because universities do not directly apportion such costs to the departments who use the facilities. A detailed study of these costs at the University of Wisconsin-Madison showed that the annual cost (excluding capital) of language laboratory facilities used by the Department of African Languages and Literature approximated $15,000. Estimates received from the other universities averaged only $7,992 for lab facilities. We think that the University of Wisconsin figure probably gives a considerably more accurate picture of the cost of language lab facilities.

Institutional support. The universities provide a wide variety of support factors, including secretarial and administrative salaries, janitorial and other up-keep services, telephone, mail and copying facitities, and heat and electricity. None of these supporting costs are included in category 1 or 2 of Table 3. To deal with this element of cost we have averaged federally negotiated research "over heads" reported to us by Center Directors. The resulting figure–52 percent–is applied to salaries only, excluding fringe benefits. *As an estimate of institutional support, it is certainly a conservative measure.*

6. *African Language Teaching Costs Compared to European Languages*

To provide perspective on the costs of African languages we prepared comparative data on the cost per credit hour of teaching romance languages (the most commonly taught foreign languages in American universities). The comparison (based on an average of per credit hour costs of teaching romance languages at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Michigan State University) is as follows:

Cost per credit hour African languages:	Cost per credit hour Romance languages:
$269	$60

This indicates that *it is nearly four and one-half times as expensive to teach the African languages than it is to teach the romance languages.*

7. ***The Factor of Large and Small Classes***

As noted earlier, a principal reason why African language teaching programs are high-cost programs is that enrollments in individual African language courses tend to be small. We classified enrollments in language courses at the eight centers according to whether they were "large" classes (six or more students) or "small" classes (five or fewer students). Results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4–AFRICAN LANGUAGE CREDIT HOURS AT EIGHT CENTERS:
Large and Small Classes

Number of "large" class credit hours	2,803
Number of "small" class credit hours	1,354
Total credit hours	4,157
Proportion of total credit hours made up by "small" classes	33%

It should be noted that the definition of "large" classes (six students) is a very modest one. Many of the "small" classes in fact consist of one or two students, usually preparing for specific research, business or government projects. Finally, it should be noted that the factor of cost represented by small classes would be much greater if it were not for the fact that many members of the language facilities teach these small classes *in addition* to their normal loads.

8. ***Federal Support for Teaching African Languages***

Principally through the National Defense Education Act Title VI Program the federal government has made an important contribution to the development of African studies in general and the teaching of African languages in particular. The federal contribution, however, represents only a small proportion of the cost of these programs. Grants to each African studies center have, in recent years, been approximately $100,000. Costs of the African studies programs range up to ten times this amount. Almost all of that larger portion comes from university funds–in most cases, ultimately from state tax revenues, student fees, and gifts. The NDEA Title VI program has been one of the federal government's most successful programs in higher education. Federal dollars are now matched at a ratio of almost 10 to 1 with 11 percent of the funding coming from federal sources.

The ratio of financial support for these programs of national significance is improving from the federal standpoint, as Title VI funding has remained almost static, whereas costs of the programs have risen at the rate of inflation. But it seems clear that a point has now been reached where a further diminution of the federal support factor will become counter-productive as universities feel obliged to reevaluate their own commitment to African language teaching as they are forced to cut back on high cost programs regardless of national need.

This would be particularly unfortunate at a time when United States interests in Africa–both political and commercial–are growing rapidly. We feel that there is an urgent need for renewed commitment on the part of the federal government to support African Languge and Area Studies Programs if the existing language training resources are to be maintained at least at their present level.

9. ***Conclusions***

In less than two decades, the United States has made enormous progress in developing centers of expertise about Africa which are among the best in the world. These centers are of increasing national significance as a wide variety of American relations with the African countries become increasingly important to the United States.

African language programs are also the crucial foundation on which scholarship about Africa in other disciplines is based. The university centers have dealt vigorously and effectively with the two most basic challenges of African language teaching: the fact that a large number of languages must be made available, and the fact that teaching materials and language skills are in short supply.

What has been accomplished has been at considerable sacrifice to the institutions that have chosen to contribute in the African field. During a period of financial stringency, African language teaching programs become vulnerable to reevaluations of priorities. University officials and state legislators are quick to perceive that they are being asked to carry a burden which should be regarded as substantially a national one. In relation to individual university budgets, the burden is a heavy one. In the larger national context, it is a light one indeed in relation to its benefits and its significance for America's economic and political future.

The accomplishments of the past can and should be preserved and built upon. But if that is to be done, the problems of cost must be given fair recognition, and the steady trend toward diminished outside support (for language instruction, student fellowships, language materials, and faculty research) must be reversed.

APPENDIX C

AFRICAN LANGUAGES IN THE 1980s: DIRECTIONS AND PRIORITIES

March 10-11, 1979
Michigan State University

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE
(Revised)

Saturday, March 10

1. ***Introductory Plenary Session*** (9:00 a.m., Room 204, Center for International Programs, MSU)
   Review Scope of Conference: Professor David Wiley, Michigan State University

2. ***Workshop: Priorities Among African Languages*** (9:30 a.m. – 10:45 a.m.)
   a. Criteria for Determining Priorities
      Discussion Leader: Professor Russell Schuh, University of California, Los Angeles
   b. Specific Priorities in African Languages
      Discussion Leader: Professor Eyamba Bokamba, University of Illinois

Break (10:45 – 11:00)

3. ***Workshop: Priorities for Language Materials Development*** (11:00 – 12:15)
   Session Chairperson: Professor Haig der Houssikian, University of Florida
   a. Criteria for Determining Priorities
      Discussion Leader: Professor Carleton Hodge, Indiana University
   b. Specific Materials Development Recommendations
      Discussion Leader: Professor John Eulenberg, Michigan State University

Lunch (Kellogg Center, Michigan State University – 12:30)

4. ***Workshop: Directions in Research*** (2:00 – 3:30)
   Session Chairperson: Professor Ivan Dihoff, Boston University
   a. General Directions
      Discussion Leader: Professor William Leben, Stanford University
   b. Evaluation
      Discussion Leader: Professor David Dwyer, Michigan State University

Break (3:30 – 4:00)

5. ***Workshop: Program Support for Curriculum, Faculty, Fellowships, Materials*** (4:00 – 5:30)
   Session Chairperson: Professor Abraham Demoz, Northwestern University
   Discussion Leader: Professor Neil Skinner, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Reception and Buffet at home of Professor Carol Scotton, Michigan State University
(transportation will be provided)

Sunday, March 11

6. ***Final Plenary Session*** (9:00 a.m. – 12:30, Room 204 International Center)

Review of Proposals, Priorities and Recommendations

Session Chairperson: Professor Fred Hayward, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Lunch (Kellogg Center, Michigan State University, 1:00 p.m.)

Departure

****

Workshop Procedures:

The Chairperson introduces topics and leaders, chairs discussion sessions, and keeps the session to time limits.

The Discussion Leader
1) discusses background to topic
2) introduces set of recommendations to serve as basis of discussion
3) opens discussion directed at how much consensus can be reached first on leader's proposals, then on others
4) workshop leader will summarize the findings of workshop at final session.

Workshop chairpersons and discussion leaders function to seek the most general consensus and not to report on personal or their own institution's projects.

All sessions will run sequentially with all participants in plenary session.

APPENDIX D

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